

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 02575 01 OF 04 241047Z

11

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /026 W

----- 097596

R 240942Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0973

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 WARSAW 2575

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (O'NEILL, THOMAS P.), PFOR, US, PL

SUBJECT: CODEL O'NEILL: MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH
EDWARD GIEREK,

APRIL 22, 10:00 A.M. TO 12:00N., MATEJKO HALL, SEJM

(PARLIAMENT) BUILDING, WARSAW

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF AN UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF THE
DISCUSSION BETWEEN EDWARD GIEREK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED POLISH WORKERS'S PARTY (PZPR),
AND THE 15-MAN DELEGATION OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
LED BY THE HONORABLE THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR., LEADER OF THE
MAJORITY. ALSO PRESENT ON THE POLISH SIDE WERE SECRETARY
RYSZARD FRELEK OF THE CC-PZPR, VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS ROMUALD SPASOWSKI, AND JERZY WASZCZUK, DIRECTOR OF
THE CABINET OF THE FIRST SECRETARY.

2. LEADER O'NEILL AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE
DELEGATION ASKED THAT THIS TEXT BE PASSED TO THEM AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE.

3. BEGIN TEXT. WELCOMING CONGRESSMAN O'NEILL AND HIS
DELEGATION TO POLAND, FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK CHARACTERIZED
THE VISIT AS A FURTHER STEP IN DEVELOPING FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES AND BETWEEN THE
POLISH AND AMERICAN PEOPLES. GIEREK SAID HE CONTINUED
TO BE GREATLY IMPRESSED BY HIS VISIT TO THE US AND
HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT FORD IN THE US AND IN POLAND;
HE HAS VERY FOND MEMORIES OF THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT FORD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 02575 01 OF 04 241047Z

TO POLAND LAST SUMMER.

4. GIEREK SAID THAT, WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAILS, POLAND JUDGES ITS RELATIONS WITH THE US TO BE BETTER THAN THEY HAVE EVER BEEN IN THE PAST. HE WISHED TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, WHICH HAVE GROWN SIGNIFICANTLY IN RECENT YEARS, WILL BE STRENGTHENED AND DEVELOPED FURTHER. POINTING TO OUR BICENTENNIAL, GIEREK SAID THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE ALSO GETTING READY FOR THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. A NUMBER OF EVENTS WILL INVOLVE POLISH PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN'S 200TH BIRTHDAY. IN THIS CONNECTION AND IN MEMORY OF OUR FRIENDSHIP, POLAND WILL PRESENT TO THE US TWO MONUMENTS: ONE OF GENERAL TADEUSZ KOSCIUSZKO AND ONE OF GENERAL KAZIMIERZ PULASKI. THE POLISH PEOPLE WILL LEAVE IT UP TO THE US TO DECIDE WHERE TO LOCATE THEM. GIEREK SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE THE MEMBERS OF REPRESENTATIVES O'NEILL'S DELEGATION TO BECOME SPOKESMEN FOR THE MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN POLAND AND THE US. HE CHARACTERIZED THE FRIENDSHIP THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE HAVE FOR THE US AS STRONG, BUT SAID THAT THIS FRIENDSHIP SHOULD BE MADE MORE CONCRETE. GIEREK THEN EXPRESSED HIS SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, FOR FURTHER COOPERATIVE PROJECTS, FOR EVERYTHING THAT WOULD ALLOW US TO STRENGTHEN THE BASIS OF OUR FRIENDSHIP. HE REGRETTED THAT THE DELEGATION'S VISIT WOULD BE SO SHORT. TO KNOW POLAND, HE ADDED, ONE WOULD HAVE TO VISIT FOR AT LEAST A MONTH. HE SAID WITH ASSURANCE THAT, HAVING ONCE SWALLOWED THE BACILLUS OF POLAND, A VISITOR WOULD WANT TO COME AGAIN AND AGAIN AND MANY HAVE DONE SO.

5. THE FIRST SECRETARY RECALLED THAT, AFTER WORLD WAR II, POLAND WAS IN RUINS AND ASHES. BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS, IT HAD NOT BEEN AN ECONOMICALLY ADVANCED COUNTRY. IN FACT, IT HAD BEEN A POOR COUNTRY. WORLD WAR II CAUSED POLAND TO LOSE APPROXIMATELY 40 PER CENT OF ITS FIXED CAPITAL PROPERTY. THE DELEGATION HAD SEEN OSWIECIM; THIS WAS ONLY ONE OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN WHICH THE WHOLE POLISH NATION WAS TO HAVE BEEN EXTERMINATED. AFTER THE WAR, POLAND HAD ONLY ABOUT 24,000,000 INHABITANTS. IT WAS A NATION WHICH FOR TEN YEARS PRACTICALLY LIVED ON WHEELS, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 02575 01 OF 04 241047Z

MOVING FIRST TO THE EAST AND THEN FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST. NOW, THERE ARE ABOUT 35,000,000 POLES AND BY 1980 THERE SHOULD BE 38,000,000. POLAND IS NOW A HIGHLY DEVELOPED INDUSTRIAL NATION. IN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT, IT IS IN ABOUT TENTH PLACE IN THE WORLD. BUT POLES ARE NOT SATISFIED, SINCE POLAND'S CAPACITY IS MUCH LARGER THAN PRESENT RESULTS WOULD INDICATE. IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD, POLAND'S ECONOMY WILL BE MOVING CLOSER TO THE SORT OF

RESULTS IT SHOULD BE ACHIEVING.

6. GIEREK SAID THAT NOT EVERYTHING IS DEVELOPING WELL OR EVENLY. THE COUNTRYSIDE IS DEVELOPING MORE SLOWLY THAN INDUSTRY IN THE CITIES. THERE ARE 2.5 MILLION HORSES AND, TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF THESE, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE MUST CHANGE. THE GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE LAWS AND DECREES, BUT IT WILL NOT SOLVE ANYTHING THAT WAY. WITH A DIFFERENT AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURE, POLAND COULD BECOME A NET EXPORTER OF FOOD. THE ACCELERATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLISH AGRICULTURE REQUIRES NOT ONLY LAND REDISTRIBUTION, BUT ALSO AGRICULTURAL MODERNIZATION AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF FERTILIZER PRODUCTION. STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN AND CONCRETE RESULTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN OBTAINED. MANY EFFICIENT POLISH FARMERS ARE TAKING OVER MORE LAND. POLISH LAW NOW PROVIDES THAT, IN CENTRAL POLAND, A FARMER CAN OWN TO TO 50 HECTARES, WHILE IN THE WEST OF POLAND, UP TO 100 HECTARES IS LEGAL. HOWEVER, ONE CANNOT FARM 100 HECTARES USING HORSE. POLAND PRODUCES 60,000 TRACTORS PER YEAR. IN 1980, IT WILL PRODUCE 100,000. POLISH AGRICULTURE IN THE YEARS AHEAD WILL BE DEVELOPING IN A CAPITALISTIC FORMAT AS WELL AS IN A SOCIALISTIC FORMAT.

7. GIEREK SAID THAT MUCH IS BEING DONE TO INCREASE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. MUCH HAS ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND MUCH MORE REMAINS TO BE DONE. THIS IS NOT AN EASY TASK, SINCE DEMAND CONTINUES TO OUTPACE CAPACITY. GIEREK EXPRESSED HIS FAITH AND BELIEF THAT, WHATEVER DIFFICULTIES THERE ARE, THEY CAN BE OVERCOME.

8. GIEREK SAID THAT PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY OTHER PEOPLE, THE POLES ARE INTERESTED IN DETENTE, NO MATTER WHAT WORD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 WARSAW 02575 01 OF 04 241047Z

YOU WOULD WANT TO USE TO DESCRIBE SUCH A PROCESS. HE ASSERTED THAT POLAND IS DOING EVERYTING IT CAN TO MAKE A POLISH CONTRIBUTION. POLAND IS TRYING TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO WORK FOR PEACE, TO COOPERATE, AND TO PROMOTE FRIENDSHIP WITHOUT REFERENCE TO DIFFERING TYPES OF SYSTEMS OR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES. POLAND IS INTERESTED IN THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD US-SOVIET RELATIONS. "WHENEVER POSSIBLE", GIEREK SAID, "I REVERT IN MY SPEECHES TO THE QUESTION OF SOVIET-MAERICAN RELATIONS AS THE DECISIVE FACTOR FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD". IN HIS VIEW, POLES ARE LISTENED TO AND THEY HAVE HAD SOME IMPACT ON THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF DIFFERENT STATES AND NATIONS.

9. RESPONDING TO THE FIRST SECRETARY MAJORITY LEADER O'NEILL SAID THAT HIS COLLEAGUES AND HE WERE HONORED TO BE IN

POLAND. THEY HAD BEEN DELIGHTED TO RECEIVE THE INVITATION TO VISIT THROUGH THE AGENCY OF AMBASSADOR TRAMPCZYNSKI. THE FIRST SECRETARY HAD REFERRED TO AMERICA'S BICENTENNIAL.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 02575 02 OF 04 241150Z

10

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /026 W

----- 098828

R 240942Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0974

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 WARSAW 2575

THE MAJORITY LEADER SAID THAT EVERY AMERICAN CHILD KNOWS ABOUT THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY GENERALS KOSCIUSZKO AND PULASKI TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE US. THERE WERE SEVEN MILLION AMERICAN CITIZENS OF POLISH ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF POLES BOTH PAST AND PRESENT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE US IS WIDELY APPRECIATED.

10. CONGRESSMAN O'NEILL SAID THAT, AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE US AND POLAND HAVE DIFFERING SYSTEMS, PHILOSOPHIES, STYLES OF GOVERNMENT, AND TYPES OF LEADERSHIP. IN SPITE OF THESE DIFFERENCES, THERE IS AN INTENSE LOVE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE OF POLAND AND THIS LOVE WILL ALWAYS BE WITH US, NO MATTER WHAT DIFFERENCES THE LEADERSHIPS OF BOTH COUNTRIES MIGHT SEEM TO HAVE. HE ASSURED THE FIRST SECRETARY THAT AMERICANS OF POLISH ORIGIN LIVING IN THE US ARE KEEPING POLISH CULTURE ALIVE WITH GREAT PRIDE. HE SAID THAT WE MUST WORK TOGETHER FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD, FOR THE BETTERMENT OF MANKIND; IF WE KEEP THAT IN MIND, WE CAN HAVE A DIALOGUE. HE WISHED TO EXTEND A HAND OF FRIENDSHIP AND REQUESTED THE FIRST SECRETARY TO GIVE THE HOUSE DELEGATION HIS THOUGHTS ON NOW POLISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS COULD BE IMPROVED.

11. ASKED BY THE LEADER TO SPEAK NEXT, AS A POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESSMAN, REPRESENTATIVE ROSTENKOWSKI EXPRESSED PLEASURE

THAT SO MANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES HAD CHOSEN TO COME TO POLAND
AT THIS TIME. HE SAID THAT MAJORITY LEADER O'NEILL
AND PRESIDENT FORD ARE VERY GOOD FRIENDS. WHILE THEY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 02575 02 OF 04 241150Z

HAVE DIFFERENCES OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, THE PRESIDENT
AND THE MAJORITY LEADER WERE TOGETHER IN THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES FOR 25 YEARS AND ARE VERY CLOSE. HE
SAID THAT HE AND OTHERS OF THE MAJORITY PARTY WERE MOST
PROUD OF THE FACT THAT MR. O'NEILL HAD AGREED TO LEAD
THE DELEGATION. REPRESENTATIVE ROSTENKOWSKI RECALLED
THAT REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL IS THE SECOND-RANKING MEMBER
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. WHEN REPRESENTATIVE
O'NEILL RETURNS TO THE US, REPRESENTATIVE ROSTENKOWSKI
SAID, HE WILL TELL THE PRESIDENT ABOUT POLAND'S GRACIOUS
GESTURE IN DECIDING TO GIVE THE TWO MONUMENTS. RECALLING
HIS PREVIOUS VISITS TO POLAND, REPRESENTATIVE ROSTENKOWSKI
SAID THAT, IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, THERE HAVE BEEN MANY POSITIVE
CHANGES IN THE POLISH PEOPLE, IN POLAND'S ECONOMY, AND IN
POLISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

12. CO-CHAIRMAN CONTE SAID THAT HE HAD HAD BREAKFAST WITH
PRESIDENT FORD LAST WEEK. THE PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HIM TO
EXTEND TO FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK HIS WARM WISHES AND
GRATITUDE FOR THE WAY THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN RECEIVED WHEN
HE VISITED POLAND. REPRESENTATIVE CONTE SAID THE PRESIDENT
HAD TOLD HIM THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN RECEIVED SO WARMLY IN
ANY OTHER COUNTRY. TURNING TO OUR BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS,
REPRESENTATIVE CONTE SAID THAT GENERAL KOSCIUSZKO WAS
THE HERO OF SARATOGA, NEAR HIS OWN HOMETOWN OF PITTSFIELD.
THE VICTORY AT SARATOGA HAD A DRAMATIC IMPACT ON THE
COURSE OF OUR WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE. GENERAL PULASKI
HAD ORGANIZED THE FIRST AMERICAN CAVALRY REGIMENT AND
HAD DIED TRAGICALLY FOLLOWING THE BATTLE OF SAVANNAH.
WHEN GENERALS KOSCIUSZKO AND PULASKI CAME TO THE US,
THEY FACED AN UNRULY AND UNTRAINED ARMY. UNDER THEIR
LEADERSHIP, THAT ARMY SURVIVED VALLEY FORGE AND SOON
BECAME A SOUND AND WINNING FIGHTING FORCE. HE WANTED
TO EXPRESS HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE POLISH-AMERICAN HEROES
FOR INSTILLING INTO THE ARMY THE ESSENCE OF POLISH
PATRIOTISM. THANKS TO KOSCIUSZKO AND PULASKI, AMERICA
WAS ABLE TO BREAK ITS BONDS OF SERFDOM TO THE BRITISH AND
PROCLAIM AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. SPEAKING IN POLISH, REP.
CONTE QUOTED THE OLD POLISH SAYING: "A POLE WILL NEVER
BE A SERVANT" (POLAK NIGDY NIE BEDZIE SLUGA). KOSCIUSZKO
AND PULASKI HAD INSTILLED THAT SPIRIT IN THEIR AMERICAN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 02575 02 OF 04 241150Z

BROTHERS-IN-ARMS, WHO WENT ON TO END AMERICAN SERVITUDE TO A FOREIGN KING.

13. REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FROM HOUSE SPEAKER CARL ALBERT THAT AN INVITATION HAD BEEN SENT TO THE POLISH SEJM FOR A DELEGATION TO VISIT THE US. HE SAID THAT THE POLISH DELEGATION TO VISIT THE US. HE SAID THAT THE POLISH DELEGATION WOULD BE WELCOMED MOST WARMLY AT THE CAPITOL. REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL THEN ASKED GIEREK HOW WE CAN FURTHER ESTABLISH OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

14. GIEREK SAID THAT, BECAUSE OF HER GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION, POLAND CAN BE AND WISHES TO BE A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES OF EAST AND WEST. TO DO THIS, MUCH MORE FAITH AND TRUST WILL BE NEEDED ON BOTH SIDES. AND THIS FAITH AND TRUST MUST BE GIVEN REGARDLESS OF THE DIFFERING POLITICAL SYSTEMS WHICH EXIST. HE FORESALL A LARGE ROLE FOR POLAND IN THIS AREA IF THERE WERE MORE CONFIDENCE IN POLAND. INCREASED CONFIDENCE WOULD ALLOW POLES TO STRENGTHEN POLISH RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS US RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE HAD TALKED TO PRESIDENT FORD ABOUT THIS AND IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT WE CAN OFFER EACH OTHER A LOT. POLES ARE HARD TO PLEASE, SAID GIEREK, BUT THE US IS A GREAT COUNTRY AND CAN OFFER POLAND MANY GOOD THINGS. HE ARGUED THAT WE MUST REASSESS OUR CULTURAL RELATIONS AND EXTEND THESE ACCORDING TO OUR MEANS. MUCH MORE CAN BE DONE AND THE US HAS A GREAT MANY RESOURCES WHICH ENABLE IT TO DO MORE. EVEN POLAND HAS MUCH TO OFFER. WE HAVE SIGNED NUMEROUS AGREEMENTS IN VARIOUS FIELDS, BUT WE CAN DO MORE ABOVE AND BEYOND THAT WHICH IS PROVIDED FOR IN THESE AGREEMENTS, GIEREK SAID THAT AMERICANS MAKE A MISTAKE WHEN THEY THINK THAT THEY CAN OFFER POLAND EVERYTHING IN THE FIELD OF HUMANITIES AND NOT BE FORTHCOMING IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE. POLAND CAN TAKE MORE IN THE HUMANITIES, BUT AMERICA COULD GIVE MORE IN SCIENCE, ESPECIALLY IN SUCH AREAS AS ELECTRONICS, AND NOT ONLY IN ELECTRONICS. THEREFORE, HE WANTED TO SUGGEST A MORE OPEN APPROACH TO POLAND ON THE PART OF THE US. HE SAID THAT AMERICAN ALWAYS USE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 WARSAW 02575 02 OF 04 241150Z

A YARSTICK IN WHAT THEY SHARE AND THAT YARDSTICK IS WHETHER IS IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE US. POLAND WANTS MORE PROJECTS IN SCIENCE EXCLUDING, OF COURSE, INFORMATION WHICH HAS A STRATEGIC APPLICATION. GIEREK SAID THAT THERE IS A NEW LEVEL OF INTENSITY IN OUR ECONOMIC COOPERATION,

BUT HE QUESTIONED WHETHER WE HAVE REACHED THE LIMIT. POLAND'S CAPABILITIES ARE NOT SO GREAT, BUT POLAND'S AMBITIONS ARE. PERHAPS POLAND STILL CAN MAKE GREAT STEPS FORWARD. WITH SOME AMERICAN FIRMS, POLAND HAS VERY GOOD RELATIONS. POLAND WANTS TO IMPROVE THE USE OF ITS RAW MATERIALS, AS WELL AS TO ADVANCE THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF PRODUCTION AND STRENGTHEN THE MATERIAL BASIS OF THE POLISH STATE. THE US SHOULD BE ANXIOUS TO SEE POLAND BECOME A STRONG COUNTRY AND PLAY THE ROLE OF A BRIDGE; POLAND'S VOICE SHOULD BE HEARD EVERYWHERE, EVEN IN SUCH PARTS OF THE WORLD AS AFRICA. THIS WOULD BE IN AMERICA'S INTEREST, TOO.

15. REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL THEN ASKED WHAT DIFFICULTIES POLAND IS HAVING IN OBTAINING AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY. AMBASSADOR DAVIES EXPLAINED THAT THERE ARE ONE OR TWO EXPORT-CONTROL CASES PENDING IN WHICH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IS INTERESTED. THESE INVOLVE SUCH MATTERS AS EQUIPMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 02575 03 OF 04 241145Z

10

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /026 W

----- 098822

R 240942Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0975

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 WARSAW 2575

TO MANUFACTURE PARTS FOR THE LATEST TYPES OF COMPUTERS. GIEREK INTERJECTED THAT WHAT HE HAD SAID WAS NOT MEANT AS A GENERAL CRITICISM OF US-POLISH RELATIONS. THESE RELATIONS ARE AS GOOD AS THEY HAVE EVER BEEN. BUT, HE SAID, SOME OF YOUR ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY COMES TO POLAND FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. WHY, HE ASKED, CAN'T POLAND GET THIS TECHNOLOGY DIRECTLY FROM THE US? HOW POLAND OBTAINS SUCH TECHNOLOGY IS POLAND'S SECRET, BUT POLAND DOES OBTAIN IT.

16. REFERRING TO HIS VISIT TO STALOWA WOLA AND THE ONGOING COOPERATION BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER AND BUMAR, REP. BROWN EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE BEST APPROACH IN

CONTINUING OUR RELATIONSHIP SHOULD BE TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL AREAS IN WHICH POLAND WOULD REFER TO SEE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH AMERICAN FIRMS. GIEREK REPLIED THAT BROWN HAD HIT THE NAIL ON THE HEAD. COOPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER IS JUST THE TYPE OF JOINT VENTURE WHICH IS IN POLAND'S INTEREST AND ALSO IN THE INTEREST OF THE US. POLAND IS ALL FOR EXPANDING THIS TYPE OF COOPERATION. POLAND IS INTERESTED IN SEEING THIS TYPE OF COOPERATION IN THE FOOD-PROCESSING INDUSTRY. REFERRING TO POLAND'S PRODUCTION OF 50 MILLION TONS OF POTATOES PER YEAR AND THE 16 DIFFERENT PRODUCTS WHICH POLAND PRODUCES FROM POTATOES, GIEREK RUEFULLY NOTED THAT HOLLAND PRODUCES 100 DIFFERENT PRODUCTS FROM ITS POTATO CROP. HE SAID THAT IF THERE IS AN AMERICAN FIRM WHICH WOULD LIKE TO WORK WITH POLAND FOR BETTER UTILIZATION OF POLAND'S POTATO CROP, HE WOULD PRAY FOR IT, AND THIS IS BUT ONE SMALL EXAMPLE. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 02575 03 OF 04 241145Z

HE SAID THAT POLAND IS PREPARED TO ENTER INTO COOPERATION WITH AMERICAN FIRMS TO BUILD NITROGEN-FERTILIZER PLANTS ON THE BASIS OF BUY-BACK OR OF SHARING THE PRODUCTION ON A 51 PERCENT - 49 PERCENT BASIS. THE PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY IS ANOTHER AREA. POLAND IS ALL FOR SETTING UP LARGE PLANTS FOR PROCESSING PETROLEUM; THE RESULTING PRODUCTS WOULD BE DIVIDED BETWEEN THE PARTNERS. HE NOTED THAT THE POLISH STATE PROVIDES ALL THE NECESSARY GUARANTEES. POLAND, HE SAID, IS A SOLID PARTNER.

17. REPRESENTATIVE YOUNG COMMENTED THAT A BRIDGING ROLE BY POLAND SEEMS TO HIM TO BE VERY MUCH NEEDED. TAKING UP GIEREK'S COMMENT ABOUT DIFFICULTIES IN ESTABLISHING A FULL EXCHANGE OF TECHNOLOGY BETWEEN THE US AND POLAND, REPRESENTATIVE YOUNG ASSERTED THAT THIS IS A REAL PROBLEM. FREQUENTLY, SOPHISTICATED CIVILIAN TECHNOLOGIES HAVE POSSIBLE MILITARY APPLICATIONS. TALKING ABOUT DISPELLING DISTRUST, REPRESENTATIVE YOUNG SAID, ONE TROUBLESOME AREA IS THE NUCLEAR FIELD IN WHICH A BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, SUCH AS POLAND ASPIRES TO BE, COULD BE VERY USEFUL IN BREAKING THE IMPASSE OVER ON-SITE INSPECTION. REP. YOUNG SAID THAT IF THERE WERE ON-SITE INSPECTION, IT WOULD BE EASIER TO EXCHANGE TECHNOLOGY. EXPRESSING GENERAL AGREEMENT, GIEREK SAID THAT POLAND IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE NUCLEAR AREA. HE SAID THAT VERIFICATION FROM OUTER SPACE COULD BE AN EFFECTIVE SUBSTITUTE FOR ON-SITE INSPECTION. REPRESENTATIVE YOUNG REPLIED THAT TRUST, HOWEVER, WOULD BE GREATLY ENHANCED IF THERE WERE ON-SITE INSPECTION.

18. REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIETS GIVE THE POLES THE BEST AND LATEST DEVELOPMENTS OF THEIR TECHNOLOGY. THE FIRST SECRETARY REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY, SAYING THAT, LIKE THE US, THEY MADE AN EXCEPTION OF THOSE STRATEGIC IDEAS WHICH THE US KEEPS SECRET AND WHICH THE SOVIETS WANT TO KEEP SECRET. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE NOTED THAT POLAND IS TAKING AN ACTIVE PART, WITH THE SOVIETS, IN OUTER-SPACE EXPLORATION.

19. REPRESENTATIVE RUPPE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 02575 03 OF 04 241145Z

SENT ARMS TO ANGOLA AND THAT CUBAN TROOPS HAVE TAKEN PART IN THE FIGHTING THERE. HE ASKED WHETHER THESE ACTS ARE COMPATIBLE WITH GIEREK'S CONCEPT OF DETENTE.

20. THE FIRST SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THIS WAS A SENSITIVE PROBLEM. TO PROVIDE ANSWERS, ONE WOULD HAVE TO GO BACK INTO HISTORY. MUCH HAS ALREADY BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN MILITARY INSTRUCTORS AND SO HE DID NOT WISH TO SPEND TIME ON IT. ARMS HAVE BEEN SENT BY THE SOVIETS TO ANGOLA FOR MANY YEARS, HE SAID, AND THESE SHIPMENTS BEGAN WITH THE BEGINNING OF RESISTANCE TO PORTUGUESE COLONIAL RULE. WHEN THE FIGHTING BROKE OUT IN ANGOLA, THERE WERE ENOUGH ARMS THERE TO ALLOW THE FIGHTING TO BE CONTINUED FOR SOME TIME. FURTHER, ALL THOSE STATES WHICH HAD AN INTEREST IN ANGOLA SUPPLIED ARMS, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. TURNING TO DETENTE, GIEREK SAID ENOUGH HAD BEEN SAID. THERE HAVE BEEN GREAT CHANGES AROUND THE WORLD. THE MATTER WAS NOT CONFINED TO ANGOLA. TAKE EGYPT, FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID. HE MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT LIKE WHAT THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT HAD DONE, BUT THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CHANGE COULD NOT BE DENIED. IN GENERAL, WHAT WAS BEING DISCUSSED WAS NOT AN EASY SUBJECT AND DID NOT LEND ITSELF TO CLARIFICATION IN A FEW MINUTES.

21 REPRESENTATIVE VANIK SAID THAT HE BELIEVES IN DETENTE AND FEARS NEITHER THE WORD NOR THE IDEA. HE ALSO BELIEVES IT IS THE MOST USEFUL TOOL IN HAND FOR PEACE AND RECALLED THAT HE HAD WELCOMED THE TAKING OF THIS COURSE BY BOTH PRESIDENTS NIXON AND FORD. THE QUESTION IN MANY AMERICAN MINDS IS WHETHER WE CAN TRUST AND RELY ON DETENTE. IN THIS AMERICAN ELECTORAL YEAR, CANDIDATES IN BOTH PARTIES HAVE EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT DETENTE; SOME HAVE EVEN VIGOROUSLY ATTACKED IT. THEY ARE ARGUING FOR ISOLATION AND INCREASED EXPENDITURE ON ARMAMENTS. REPRESENTATIVE VANIK'S VIEW IS THAT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY WILL INCREASE SUPPORT FOR DETENTE. HE HOPED THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PATIENT WITH THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS,

SINCE, AS HISTORY SO AMPLY DEMONSTRATES, THE AMERICAN
SYSTEM WORKS EFFICIENTLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 WARSAW 02575 03 OF 04 241145Z

22. THANKING REPRESENTATIVE VANIK FOR SHARING HIS VIEWS
WITH HIM, FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK SAID THAT POLAND HAD
SUFFERED ENOUGH TO KNOW THE VALUE OF PEACE. HE SAID THAT
HE WANTED TO SHARE WITH THE DELEGATION SOME OF HIS
EXPERIENCES WITH THE SOVIETS, BUT UNDERLINED THAT HE WAS
A POLE AND HE DID NOT WANT TO BE REGARDED AS AN AMBASSADOR
FOR THE RUSSIANS; IN ANY CASE, THEY DON'T NEED HIM TO
PERFORM THAT FUNCTION. HE THEN SAID THAT, IF YOU TALK TO
ANYBODY IN THE SOVIET UNION, YOUNG OR OLD, COMMUNIST OR
NON-COMMUNIST, YOU WILL FIND THAT EVERYONE IS DESIROUS OF
ONE THING -- TO COME TO TERMS WITH AMERICA AND TO DAMPEN
THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR CONFLICT. THE RUSSIANS, GIEREK SAID,
ARE WELL AWARE OF THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF A NUCLEAR
CONFLICT. THEY KNOW THAT THERE WOULD BE NO WINNERS. IN
HIS VIEW, THERE ARE SUFFICIENT STOCKPILES OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS
TO DESTROY THE WORLD MANY TIMES OVER. THE FIRST SECRETARY
EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE RUSSIANS, AS WELL AS THE
AMERICANS, WANT THE SAME THING. HE MAINTAINED THAT BOTH
WERE SIMILAR PEOPLES WITH SIMILAR CHARACTERISTICS. IF A
RUSSIAN HAS SOMETHING TO SAY, HE JUST HAS TO SAY IT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 02575 04 OF 04 241049Z

11

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /026 W

----- 097663

R 240942Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0976

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 WARSAW 2575

STRAIGHT OUT, AND AMERICANS ARE EXACTLY THE SAME.
POLAND, A SMALL COUNTRY, WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ITS OWN
SMALL CONTRIBUTION SO THAT AMERICANS AND RUSSIANS CAN
COME TO TERMS WITH EACH OTHER.

23. REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL SAID THAT THE CONTINUING
DEVELOPMENT OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS AND TROOPS BY THE
SOVIET UNION DEMONSTRATES EVIDENCE OF A DESIRE FOR
EXPANSION. SECRETARY GIEREK SAID HE THOUGHT THAT PERHAPS
THIS INFORMATION WAS NEITHER EXACT NOR PRECISE. THE
SOVIET UNION HAS LARGE STOCKPILES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND
KNOWS THAT IT NEED NOT BUILD UP CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS.

24. REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL REPLIED THAT NOTHING GIEREK
COULD SAY WOULD CONVINCE HIM THAT THE BUILD-UP OF
CONVENTIONAL ARMS BY THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT MEANT FOR
EXPANSION IN THE WORLD AND IN EUROPE. HOWEVER, HE DID
NOT WISH TO QUARREL WITH THE FIRST SECRETARY ON THIS POINT.

25. REPRESENTATIVE SCHEUER ASKED WHETHER THERE IS ANY
HOPE THAT POLAND COULD GRADUALLY MOVE FROM THE EASTERN
POSITION, WHICH IT HAS ALWAYS TAKEN IN THE UNITED NATIONS,
TO A MORE CENTRAL POSITION AND THUS DEMONSTRATE ITS
DESIRE TO ACT AS A BRIDGE.

26. SECRETARY GIEREK REPLIED THAT THE PLACE WHICH POLAND
NOW OCCUPIES SEEMS TO IT TO BE THE BEST LOCATION FROM
WHICH TO ACT AS A BRIDGE. IN PHYSICS, HE SAID, IT IS KNOWN THAT,
IF A POINT OF GRAVITATION MOVES IN A DIRECTION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 02575 04 OF 04 241049Z

CONTRARY TO THAT WHICH IT SHOULD OCCUPY, THE
WHOLE STRUCTURE WILL COLLAPSE. HE REITERATED THAT THE
POLICY OF POLAND IS ONE OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE CAUSE
OF PEACE; WHATEVER POLAND DOES IS AIMED AT THE CONSOLIDATION
OF PEACE. HE UNDERSTOOD REPRESENTATIVE SCHEUER'S REMARKS AND,
WITHOUT WANTING TO INTRODUCE UNNECESSARY ELEMENTS, COULD
ASSERT THAT WHATEVER POLAND DOES IS BEING DONE WITH GOOD
INTENTIONS. HE SAID THAT EACH NATION DOES THE THINGS IT
MUST TO DEFEND ITS NATIONAL IDENTITY. HE POSED THE
QUESTION WHETHER WHAT IS DONE BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT
CAN BE REGARDED AS TRULY POLISH, AS SOVEREIGN AS IN POLAND'S
NATIONAL INTEREST. TO EACH QUESTION, HE RESPONDED
AFFIRMATIVELY.

27. REPRESENTATIVE CARNEY SAID THAT HE HAD TRAVELLED
IN THE SOVIET UNION AND HAD SEEN THE ABSENCE OF RELIGION
THERE. HE ASKED FOR AN EXPLANATION OF POLAND'S ATTITUDE
TOWARD RELIGION, GIVEN POLAND'S FORM OF GOVERNMENT. SECRETARY
GIEREK SUGGESTED THAT REPRESENTATIVE CARNEY VISIT POLAND'S

CHURCHES NEXT SUNDAY, OR, BETTER YET, DURING THE FEAST OF CORPUS CHRISTI. HE SUGGESTED THAT REPRESENTATIVE CARNEY WOULD FIND THE ANSWER THERE. AFTER THAT, HE WOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE A DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION WITH REPRESENTATIVE CARNEY AND WOULD ASK HIM WHY THE CHURCHES IN THE US WERE NOT SO FULL AS IN POLAND.

28. REPRESENTATIVE MINISH ASKED WHAT COULD BE DONE TO ALLEVIATE THE PROBLEM OF DIVIDED FAMILIES. AT THE INSTANCE OF THE FIRST SECRETARY, SEJM FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN FRELEK SAID THAT, AT ITS MAY MEETING, HIS COMMITTEE WOULD BE DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM. SECRETARY GIEREK ADDED THAT THERE IS NO MAJOR PROBLEM; THERE ARE INDIVIDUAL CASES WHICH CAN BE MINOR IRRITANTS, PARTICULARLY IF SOMEONE HAS TO WAIT SEVERAL MONTHS FOR EXIT DOCUMENTATION. IN GENERAL, EMIGRATION IS NOT GOING TO BE ALLOWED, BECAUSE POLAND, AS IS THE CASE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, NEEDS TO PRESERVE THE POTENTIAL OF ITS HUMAN RESOURCES. THERE WOULD BE A DIFFERENT SITUATION IF ONE WERE TALKING ABOUT A PERSON WHO CONSIDERS HIMSELF TO BE A MEMBER OF A MINORITY. SUCH A PERSON CAN LEAVE POLAND. THIS INDEED HAD RECENTLY BEEN THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 02575 04 OF 04 241049Z

WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND MANY THOUSANDS WERE NOW IN THE PROCESS OF LEAVING POLAND, EVEN THOUGH MAYBE AS MANY AS HALF THE GROUP ARE NOT IN ANY REAL SENSE OF THE TERM REALLY ETHNICALLY GERMAN. NEVERTHELESS, THEY CONSIDER THEMSELVES MEMBERS OF A MINORITY AND NO SUCH PERSON WOULD BE KEPT IN POLAND AGAINST HIS WILL.

29. REPRESENTATIVE ANDERSON ASKED ABOUT THE DEGREE TO WHICH AN EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO DEVELOP ECONOMIC INTEGRATION BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. GIEREK SAID THAT THERE IS COORDINATION ON MANY LEVELS AND IN MANY INDUSTRIES, AND CITED SPECIFIC EXAMPLES. HE SAID THAT POLAND IS SATISFIED WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION, BUT IS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT COORDINATION EFFORTS SHOULD NOT BE INCREASED.

30. IN CLOSING, REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL AGAIN POINTED TO THE LOVE AND AFFECTION OF THE POLISH AND AMERICAN PEOPLES FOR EACH OTHER; NO LEADERSHIP ON EITHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC COULD BREAK THAT. HE SAID THAT THERE SHOULD BE INCREASED MEETINGS BETWEEN LEADERS IN POLAND AND AMERICA IN THEIR COMMON TASK OF WORKING FOR PEACE. HE EXPRESSED THE GRATITUDE OF HIS DELEGATION FOR THE VERY KIND RECEPTION GIVEN TO THEM BY THEIR POLISH HOSTS.

31. SECRETARY GIEREK REQUESTED THAT REPRESENTATIVE

O'NEILL AND HIS DELEGATION CONVEY THE GREETINGS OF HIMSELF AND HIS COLLEAGUES AND OF THE POLISH PEOPLE TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA. HE WOULD LIKE THESE SINCERE GREETINGS TO BE ESPECIALLY PRONOUNCED IN VIEW OF THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. HE ALSO REQUESTED THAT HIS SINCEREST GREETINGS BE GIVEN TO PRESIDENT FORD. HE SAID, PRESIDENT FORD IS YOUR PRESIDENT, BUT HE IS ALSO OUR FRIEND. HE REQUESTED THAT THESE GREETINGS BE GIVEN TO MRS. FORD, TOGETHER WITH HIS BEST WISHES FOR HER HEALTH. HE ASKED THAT HIS GREETINGS BE CONVEYED TO SPEAKER CARL ALBERT, A FORMER COAL-MINER. AS A MINER HIMSELF, HE KNEW THAT MINERS WERE THE BEST PEOPLE ON EARTH. END TEXT

32. MEMCONS OF THE CODEL'S DISCUSSIONS WITH SEJM MARSHAL GUCWA, FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI, AND THE GROUP OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 WARSAW 02575 04 OF 04 241049Z

DEPUTIES WITH WHICH THEY MET IN THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 22 WILL FOLLOW BY POUCH.
DAVIES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, TEXT, POLITICAL LEADERS, VISITS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION S, MONUMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 APR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976WARSAW02575
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760156-0329
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760425/aaaaaupv.tel
Line Count: 679
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 OCT 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 OCT 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <30 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL O'NEILL: MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH EDWARD GIEREK
TAGS: OREP, PFOR, US, PL, (O'NEILL, THOMAS P), (GIEREK, EDWARD)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006